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FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISHU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1291
INFO RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
USCENTCOM REAR MACDILL AFB FL//
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RIYADH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOGADISHU 11232

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: [PREL](#) [PGOV](#) [PINR](#) [SO](#)
SUBJ: DECEMBER 22, 1990 MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER

REF: MOGADISHU 08583

[1](#)1. (C) ENTIRE TEXT.

[1](#)2. SUMMARY: THE PRIME MINISTER ACCEPTED STOICALLY NOTIFICATION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF FUEL, EQUIPMENT AND USG CONTRACT PERSONNEL FROM BERBERA. INITIALLY UPSET ABOUT THE EVACUATION OF USG PERSONNEL AND DEPENDENTS FROM MOGADISHU, HE CONCEDED THAT WE HAD THE RIGHT TO TAKE WHAT SAFETY PRECAUTIONS WE FELT APPROPRIATE. ASKED WHAT GAMEPLAN HIS GOVERNMENT HAD FOR POLITICAL RECONCILIATION FOLLOWING THE COLLAPSE OF THE CAIRO CONFERENCE, HE COULD NOT IDENTIFY ONE. THE PRIME MINISTER DID PLEA FOR FOOD AID AND REQUESTED OUR INTERCESSION WITH THE IBRD. END SUMMARY.

[1](#)3. INTRODUCTION: CALLED DECEMBER 22, 1990 ON PRIME MINISTER MOHAMED HAWADLE MADAR TO OFFICIALLY NOTIFY THE GSDR OF THE SUSPENSION OF OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF PERSONNEL, FUEL AND EQUIPMENT FROM BERBERA. I INFORMED THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF OUR VOLUNTARY DEPARTURE STATUS DECEMBER 8. BUT I SUBSEQUENTLY DELAYED TELLING THE GSDR WE HAD MOVED TO AN ORDERED DEPARTURE, AND OF THE CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, UNTIL OUR FILIPINO CONTRACTORS LEFT THE COUNTRY. I WAS AFRAID THE GSDR MIGHT COMPEL THEM TO REMAIN, IN ORDER TO KEEP ITS PEACE CUBE MILITARY COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK FUNCTIONING. MADAR MET ME WITHOUT A NOTETAKER OR OTHER AIDE. I WAS UNACCOMPANIED.

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[1](#)4. EVACUATION: INITIATING THE DISCUSSION, I EXPLAINED THAT THE CONTINUED DETERIORATION OF THE SECURITY SITUATION HAD LED TO A USG DECISION TO WITHDRAW ALL AMERICAN GOVERNMENT DEPENDENTS AND NON-ESSENTIAL PERSONNEL FROM SOMALIA. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS STEP WOULD MAKE IT NECESSARY TO SUSPEND OUR CIVIL AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. THESE WOULD RESUME WHEN AN IMPROVEMENT IN SECURITY CONDITIONS PERMITTED THE RETURN OF THE PERSONNEL NEEDED TO IMPLEMENT THEM. THE FUEL AND EQUIPMENT STORED AT BERBERA ARE NEEDED BY U.S. FORCES IN THE GULF, I TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER. THESE COMMODITIES, AND THE AMERICAN AND FILIPINO CONTRACTORS ASSIGNED TO BERBERA, WOULD BE REMOVED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, I EXPLAINED.

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[1](#)5. RESPONDING FIRST ON THE SUBJECT OF EQUIPMENT IN BERBERA, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID SIMPLY, "IT BELONGS TO YOU. IF YOU NEED IT ELSEWHERE, TAKE IT." ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF USG DEPENDENTS AND STAFF FROM MOGADISHU, MADAR FIRST REGISTERED UNHAPPINESS AT THE "UNILATERAL" AMERICAN DECISION. BUT AS WE TALKED IT THROUGH, AND I REMINDED HIM HOW OFTEN I HAD TOLD SENIOR GSDR OFFICIALS THAT OUR PERSONNEL WOULD BE REDUCED IF THE SECURITY PICTURE BECAME BLEAKER, THE PRIME MINISTER BACKED DOWN. HE

FINALLY STATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD MY FIRST CONCERN HAD TO BE THE WELFARE OF MY COLLEAGUES. HE THEN ADMITTED HIS BASIC CONCERN WAS THAT THE REGIME'S OPPONENTS HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE PARTIAL EVACUATION OF THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY TO CONCLUDE THAT THERE IS NO NEED TO NEGOTIATE WITH HIS GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE IT IS ON ITS LAST LEGS. I ASSURED MADAR THAT WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DISCOURAGE SUCH UNFOUNDED CONCLUSIONS BY TELLING THE OPPOSITION IT SHOULD TALK WITH THE GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THE REGIME HAS CONSIDERABLE STAYING POWER.

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16. RECONCILIATION: EXPRESSING REGRET AT THE COLLAPSE OF THE CAIRO CONFERENCE, I ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER TO OUTLINE THE GSDR'S NEXT STEPS TOWARD A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF ITS DIFFERENCES WITH ITS OPPONENTS. IN RESPONSE, AN EXTREMELY DEFENSIVE MADAR SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY THE GOVERNMENT'S ARREST OF THE MANIFESTO GROUP MEMBERS, INSISTING THAT THE GSDR SHOULD NOT BE HELD LIABLE FOR THE POSTPONE-
MENT OF THE CONFERENCE BECAUSE IT HAD ARRESTED TWO MEN GUILTY OF ILLEGAL ACTIVITY. RATHER THAN ENGAGE IN FRUITLESS DEBATE ON THAT ISSUE, I AGAIN ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER TO OUTLINE WHAT STEPS THE GSDR NEXT INTENDS TO TAKE TO REACH A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WITH ITS OPPONENTS. MADAR STATED THAT THE GSDR STANDS READY TO GO TO CAIRO OR TO MEET IN MOGADISHU WITH ANYONE CONCERNED ABOUT THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE. IT ALSO MIGHT TRY TO HOST A CONFERENCE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND INTELLECTUALS IN MOGADISHU, HE SAID. HOWEVER, MADAR HAD NO STRATEGY TO DESCRIBE. IN FACT, HE ASKED ME TO SUGGEST ONE TO HIM. HE PROVED UNFAMILIAR WITH HICKS' SPEECH ON FEDERALISM AND SKEPTICAL OF ITS THESIS WHEN I DESCRIBED IT.

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17. FOOD AID: LABELING HIS GOVERNMENT AS THE FIRST CIVILIAN REGIME IN 21 YEARS, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID HE WAS VERY DISAPPOINTED THAT HIS PROVISIONAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, UNDERTAKEN AT THE URGING OF WESTERN EMBASSIES, HAD NOT TRIGGERED THE RESUMPTION OF WESTERN ASSISTANCE HE EXPECTED. THE WEST RISKS SEEING ANOTHER MILITARY REGIME IN SOMALIA HE INSISTED. MADAR THEN TOOK ME TO TASK FOR THE ALLEGED REFUSAL OF THE USG TO PROVIDE FOOD AID TO SOMALIA, AT A TIME WHEN IT IS FURNISHING HOSTILE REGIMES IN ETHIOPIA AND MOZAMBIQUE WITH MASSIVE FOOD ASSISTANCE. MADAR LISTENED PATIENTLY AS I EXPLAINED THE APOLITICAL NATURE OF USG EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAMS, INFORMED HIM THAT USG COMMODITIES ARE BEING DELIVERED TO THE ICRC AT BERBERA FOR USE IN THE NORTH, AND GAVE HIM A STATUS REPORT ON OUR PROPOSAL FOR 5 MILLION USDOLS IN EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE FOR THE MOGADISHU AREA.

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18. PETROLEUM SHORTAGE: BEFORE I COULD LEAVE, THE PRIME MINISTER ASKED THAT THE USG INTERCEDE WITH THE IBRD TO OBTAIN RELEASE OF THE THIRD TRANCHE OF THE AGRICULTURAL STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE GSDR WAS COUNTING ON IT TO FINANCE PETROLEUM IMPORTS FOR WHICH IT HAS NO OTHER FUNDS. AS JUSTIFICATION, HE MENTIONED SEVERAL REFORMS THE GSDR HAS TAKEN SINCE THE RECENT DEPARTURE OF THE IBRD AGRICULTURAL TEAM. IN RESPONDING TO MADAR, I GAVE HIM NO BASIS FOR ENCOURAGEMENT.

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19. COMMENT: THE PRIME MINISTER'S INABILITY TO IDENTIFY A STRATEGY FOR POLITICAL RECONCILIATION REFLECTS MORE, I SUSPECT, THE NEAR PARALYSIS AFFLICTING SIAD BARRE'S GOVERNMENT THAN ANY WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT GENERAL MORGAN'S ONGOING MILITARY CAMPAIGN IS GOING TO CHECKMATE THE REGIME'S ARMED OPPONENTS. MADAR'S DEFENSIVENESS AND LACK OF A POLITICAL GAMEPLAN WERE ECHOED AT LUNCH DECEMBER 23 BY REGIME LOYALIST BASHIR FARAH KAHIE, MADAR'S MINISTER OF COMMERCE.

